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A GOVERNMENT

OF LAWS

RATHER THAN MEN,

WHERE COMMERCE CAN PROTECT ITSELF AND LABOR MEET ITS
JUST REWARD.

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T. E. CONN,

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A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS RATHER THAN MEN.

A proper appreciation of the virtue, intelligence, mental calibre and moral and physical condition of the people is essential to suggestion of a remedy for their wrongs. The revolution of '76 did not produce, but called forth, the moral grandeur of Washington. The 18th Brumaire was not the cause, but the occasion of Napoleon. Thus the mental and moral, like the physical power in man, is passive, or quasi dormant, until occasion occurs for its employment, the result of which depends much on the direction given by previous training. There are in every town, county and State in America, massive brains and giant intellects equal, with equal opportunities, to any the world has ever produced.

Establish a local self government, and by operation of natural law there will be the highest mental, moral and physical development of the whole people. Thus make the demand and the response will be as prompt and vigorous as the result will be wonderful and efficient. There will be the ever present example of one precinct to another for emulation or improvement. In county, town and State there will be the ripest, richest school of learning and experience, where the pride of true manly independence, womanly modesty, purity and virtue, self-love, self-interest; all that can prompt human action would impel to combination every mental, moral and physical power for achievement of the grandest, most glorious results. The happy solution of the problem of self-government, moral, social and political. As the husband and father recognized that the general government commenced in the precinct and that the general welfare depended upon it for its excellence, he would appreciate that the origin of social government was in the family, upon which society must depend for its purity, and that family government commenced with the individual, he would thus be impelled by his affection, his reason and his desire for happiness to teach each member, by precept and example, that true happiness is found only in habits of virtue, and the greatest amount of enjoy-

ment derived from temperate indulgence of the natural appetites, tastes, desires and emotions, and whilst teaching them to rely upon and govern themselves he would remove temptation by abolishing those gilded dens of vice now fostered, enriched and rendered magnificently attractive by the reckless extravagance and corruption of our present system of central government.

The present American theory recognizes the right of but concedes no practical ability for self-government, and its political action is based upon a falsely assumed ignorance and mental and moral imbecility of the masses. Thus whilst flattering our pride with a theory of self-government, we have a condition in which the limited few, as deficient in morals as numbers, do the thinking for and govern the many. The remedy for this is in a government according to natural law. Society is not of man's institution, but exists by the laws of his being, to which his rules of conduct should, but do not always conform, and this non-conformity constitutes misgovernment, public and private, National and individual.

The multitudinous subdivisions of labor, essential to the perfection of society, make it necessary that some portion of that society should be constantly employed in the government of the rest. It was hoped that frequent changes of those governing would prevent government from becoming an institution separate and distinct from the people, but neglect in the education of the masses, predominant individuality of a few, with increase of wealth, strength and facility for centralization has rendered that hope futile, and government now has a strange and inconsistent independence of the people, whilst its powers are increased at will, and perverted from their proper use. The temper and condition of the people is manifested by the daily increasing strength of the many associations, portending revolution, but not intelligent reform.

To determine what to do, and how to do it, we must consider our nature, present condition and probable future. The mental, moral and physical inequality of men is self-evident. It is this which gives to society its existence, beauty, harmony and perfection, whilst a refinement of protection commensurate with man's progress in the arts and sciences adds the charms of grace and elegance. This inequality is probably his natural condition, since history ex-

hibits no instance of two men exactly alike. Were equality man's natural condition he would ever be instinctively impelled to attain it, and during the rise and fall of empires, the life and death of nations and races, the development and destruction of their literature, arts and sciences, must have regained it or the race in its struggles become extinct. Absolute equality implies absolute perfection, whilst there can be no appreciable conception of society in which each individual was of the same size, color and form; possessed of the same knowledge and the same facilities for acquiring it; of the same mental calibre, and consequently of the same desires tastes and emotions.

There could exist neither government nor society where no one possessed either the power or inclination to injure, and all were equally self-sufficient, self-sustaining and independent. The philosophy of life determines man the creature of circumstances; the architect of his own fortune, only to the extent of his ability to mould, control or select his surroundings. Neither of which can he possess at birth, a tiny mass of mental, moral and physical deformity, or beautiful development, as his parents have violated or observed the laws of health. In either event other influence develops and directs his being. His conscience is the creature of education, and as an absolute and infallible moral monitor has no existence. The least learned and experienced of men, comparing themselves with their neighbors, find the word independent of education to convey no definite idea. Men are continually compounding with their consciences, and perhaps but few have lived to whom the lines:

“Compound for sins that we’ve inclined to
By damning those we have no mind to,”

Were not applicable. Now, the sins that men are inclined to differ as the multitude of consciences and conditions in life, each individual in each condition thanking God, and himself, that in some things, at least, he is not quite so bad as his neighbor. Thus man consoles himself for his imperfections whilst he flatters his pride with many good intentions and some doubtful virtues. History discovers no knowledge of human nature more profound than is contained in the expression, “lead us not into temptation.” Man has never, unaided, been able to resist sudden, unexpected and powerful temp-

taion. His nature has not changed since his creation. As man he is the same, whether king or peasant, lord or vassal, gentleman or clown. The accidents of birth and fortune affect his manners and habits, not his nature. The rulers of men have ever been among the least obedient to the laws of God and man expressing in action the language "are we controlled by such fixed cause as gives the poor mechanic laws," a bigoted egotism and self-opinionated infallibility is the too frequent offspring of the elevation to petty authority of the grossly ignorant, sensual and vulgar; whose tyrannical intolerance of opinion is invariably in proportion to their ignorance, as their merciless cruelty and oppression is only limited by their want of power. And thus the mass of mankind have too often and too long been controlled and used or governed and oppressed, through their ignorance and superstition, by and for the benefit of their few intellectual superiors, as man by his superior intelligence controls the lower order of animals. Without important exception Church and State have invoked each others aid in controlling mankind in peace and war, and for a like purpose, revenue and power.

Church wars have been for the establishment, extension or enforcement of dogmas. The Church method of suppressing man's reason, destroying his independence and commanding his obedience, nor has any State Church ever failed to use force, when emergency demanded and occasion occurred for its employment force of eloquence, interest, passion, diplomacy and force of arms, until, in the economy of Providence, civil, religious and political oppression and consequent discussion, dissention and rebellion, gave religious freedom to the enlightened world and the different denominations, through their very antagonism constitute the strongest bulwark of civil, political and religious liberty, and such is the nature of man that perhaps no more deplorable impediment to human progress could occur than their perfect union.

Such cumbersome government would soon lose the substance in the form and drop morality from religion. All wars have been for accession to or acquisition of the power to govern or control some portion of mankind, whatever may be the result of war. The people do the fighting, bear the burdens and suffer the loss, whilst the leaders reap the rewards, arrogate the honor and glory, and if

defeated lose little, save the object of that ambition for which they have sacrificed the lives and property, and desolated the homes of the people.

Nearly 2,400 years ago when under the valerian law in the republic of Rome, a condemned citizen had the right of appeal to the people and the masses refused to enlist against Tarquin without a remission of their unjust indebtedness to a monied aristocracy, claimed for services never rendered. A senate which wholly represented that aristocracy usurped the power to appoint a dictator who made his will the law. About thirteen years after, the army joined the people in their demand and the indebtedness was remitted, but a paid standing army was organized and thenceforth the name of liberty was an engine of destruction and cloak for crime. Governments never voluntarily relinquish power and never decrease taxation. Their tendency is to usurp one and increase the other to the verge of bankruptcy and revolution. In all governments history has repeated itself in recording the exercise and exhaustion of human learning and ingenuity in deceiving the masses as to the means and extent of usurpation, the mode and amount of imposition and methods of collection. To say that a people are free, whose government possesses the unlimited power of taxation, is to say that the poor, illiterate, toiling slave owns and controls his wealthy, learned and powerful master. What availed the people's veto in Rome when impoverished by government, beyond the power of resistance. That government usurped the power to appoint a dictator who suspended their constitution and made his will the supreme law? The same power exercised by Seward, in America, Cromwell, in England, and Bonaparte, in France, and to-day in every State, in such slight esteem is held the personal liberty of the citizen, the officers of every paltry corporation in utter contempt of the most solemn constitutional guarantees for its protection and multiplied legislative enactments for its preservation habitually violate it with impunity. Written constitutions require the instrumentality of men to enforce their provisions, of what force and effect can they be if their interpretation be left to those men, since they must then speak the language of their interpreters, whose every interest, in the very nature of things, is the enlargement and extension of power whilst the sole object of

their authors is its limitation and restraint. Fatal delusions to ensnare the masses, cunningly devised instruments admirably adapted to their oppression and enslavement, the virtue and intelligence of the people have preserved the small remnant of liberty we still possess, and not written constitutions, perverted as they have been in the last twenty years by distortion and minconstruction into the most powerful engines for the suppression of liberty, destruction of law and order, extinction of virtue and corruption of the people, by making crime honorable and truth abominable in order to maintain a partisan supremacy. They have taught America to realize in the blood of two millions of her sons, and appreciate in the devastated homes of twelve millions of her people, the impotence, insignificance and imbecility of mere paper restraints upon power, and the facility with which in the hands of the bold, daring, ambitious and corrupt partisan, by exciting the fears, inflaming the passions and invoking the interest of the masses, they are converted into the most powerful and dangerous engines for their oppression. All rational action of mankind, as nations or individuals, finds a common origin in real or mistaken self-interest. Hence the power vested in government should be absolutely fixed and all construction avoided, by frequent and direct appeals to the people, in such manner as to prevent partisan and sectional interest or influence and at the same time, by large concurrent majorities secure the wisest and most patriotic action.

Politics and religion are essentially intolerant. Their power should be limited to right reason. To that end partisan organization should be prohibited and partisan association discouraged until abolished. No person should be eligible to office who represented any organized body of men, or who was brought forward by any caucus or convention then the intuitive philosophy of the people will invariably indicate the men prominent by peculiar fitness for position, and the operation of a common, unassociated but aggregate judgment will make the best selections. The greatest danger to liberty has ever been from party, now degenerated into faction by the tempting spoils of office, under the immense patronage of the Federal executive, resulting from and based upon the power of unlimited taxation. Destroy this fountain head of corruption and party disorganization must follow.

Then parties will sustain their appropriate relations to government and the people, viz: Earnest searchers after truth, efficient motors in the advancement and enlightenment of the whole people by philosophical discussions of all questions touching their material welfare, an honest expression of opinion upon measures of public policy, and association by their common efforts, of the learning, wisdom and experience of the whole people in the selection of the best men and methods for the administration of government. Then there will be no danger of over taxation, because there will be neither temptation to nor object to be accomplished by it, where all are fully informed about and equally interested in seeking the general welfare. Then money will be shorn of its fictitious and assume its true value ; a labor representative. Then government will address itself to affording the readiest and most rapid communication between the people, and the greatest facility for exchanging the product of their labor, the increase of which will rapidly become accumulated wealth.

Our theory of government recognizes the people as sovereign, the constitution as next, the creature of the people, and government as third and lowest, being the creature of the constitution. Is this a practical truth, or has the order become reversed and the people servants of a government which has absorbed all power? The imperfection of language renders the perfect conveyance of our ideas impossible, whilst the frailty of human judgment prevents the anticipation of and provision for all the emergencies which may occur amongst a new and great people. Hence the necessity for construction and application of constitutional law. How is that instrument created by the people for the limitation and control of government construed, interpreted and enforced? By a government composed of the leaders of a successful party, representing sometimes a minority of the whole people, and not always commanding the respect and confidence of that minority! Administration after administration have found the temptation to enlarge the powers of government by construction to be irresistible, until the constitution has become a great conduit through which power flows to government absorption.

The 25th section of the judiciary act of 1789, enabled the Federal government to absorb the entire judicial power of the

whole people, and the act of March 3, 1833, authorizing the enforcement of the decisions of that government by the use of the army and navy against the States or the people, virtually centralized all power at Washington. The people gave to both of those unequivocally unconstitutional provisions their sanction by their silence until upon occasion partisan strife, generating in and embittered by the rapid increase of executive patronage, consequent upon centralization of power, made internecine war possible. Until 1828 the conservative element was compromise. The essential and distinguishing characteristic of true republics.

Acquiescence of the people in those two acts (1789 and 1833), gave them the force of law, changed the conservative element to force, and, leaving the Federal government in possession of the unlimited power of taxation, party war became inevitable. With the "force bill" came removal from office for opinion sake and not as theretofore for misconduct or inefficiency, and the emoluments of office became really and principles, ostensibly the basis of party organization and action. Upon officials, however pure, was forced the painful truth that they were merely place men, subject to the will of a chief with whom they dare not differ. Offices multiplied, with increased salaries, and from the secretary to the laborer, were bestowed for the advancement of party interest. Centralized power began its practical manifestation and placed successful party leaders in a condition to involve their constituency in an unholy and unnecessary war, which, by extending to and involving the interest of great sections, eventuated in a war of arms.

That the war of 1860 was partisan at its inception, more than sectional, is proven most conclusively by the fact that union and disunion among the native citizens of both sections were convertible terms with republican and democrat, and in the proscription of democrats North and republicans South during the war, both governments followed the teaching of the "force bill" upon the conclusion of the war the party in power found their tenure of office to depend upon their ability for sectional proscription; and now all over the land the people meet and fraternize as though no war had occurred, whilst all alike feel and suffer from its results. In all this silent, fatal change, have the people controlled the government as intelligent sovereigns? Or have they been controlled and

misguided by it through its noiseless corps of sappers and miners, the Federal supreme court? Can the people be said to vote, when their secret ballots are as secretly counted by a few government officials? Does not the present manner of balloting open the flood gates of fraud? Have not the army and navy been used in connection with executive patronage to control two elections? What more was done in Rome? And with how little difference of plan and action? Is this a demonstration of popular sovereignty, or an exhibition of slavery, in which the masses are controlled by every species of force, fraud and corruption, in the interest of their masters, the leaders of a party in power, miscalled government? Never in the history of the Federal government has the constitution been successfully invoked as a restraint upon the party in power, but seldom for the protection of the citizen against it, or punishment of its officers for their political conduct.

Are we not describing a government whose power is that of an absolute and irresponsible military despotism, a government of men whose wills are enforced by the army and navy against the States or people, as policy may dictate or occasion demand? What people ever committed the folly of entrusting power to men upon the belief that they were good? And yet this is the only protection we have from a government from whose decree there lies no appeal but to the bayonet. Behold the virtue and purity, wisdom and dignity of that government in electoral commission of 1876! The act creating it was void, because not within the province of ordinary legislation. Void because congress cannot delegate its political power to nor authorize its exercise by another body of men. Void because the exercise of other than judicial authority by the judiciary is repugnant to the letter and spirit of the constitution; and our appreciation of judicial ermine would have suggested the resentment of indignant scorn at such approach, whilst blushing for shame at the disgrace of the nation. But the high commission determined its constitutionality in its own favor, by a partisan vote for a partisan chief, to maintain a partisan supremacy, exercising their will and disregarding the law, with such combinations the executive may soon be able to re-elect himself even in defiance of his own party. Does history furnish no examples of bold and decisive strokes of executive usurpation? Were there but Cromwell

and Napoleon, they teach a lesson of danger, not lightly disregarded. Have we not abundant signs of revolution, either by force of opinion or arms? With judicial legislation, executive patronage and prerogative, congressional usurpation and subserviency, universal extravagance and corruption in government, and a corresponding impoverishment, depression and demoralization of the people, does not necessity imperatively demand it? Are we not tending rapidly to the practical concentration of all power in one man? Have we not almost reached that condition? With what prophetic vision are we warned by Washington in his farewell address of that partisan supremacy in which some leader, more fortunate or more daring than the rest, may grasp the power to establish his throne upon the ruins of his country's liberty. Was General Grant's European tour, with his history, his known ambition of and ability to use power; his almost unexampled popularity with the dominant party, without significance? Were his magnificent receptions by crowns, powers and principalities the voluntary tributes of homage to his greatness, or were they procured by his diplomacy? Does Europe welcome the principles of republicanism to the destruction of her thrones? Or does she recognize the fatal tendency of our institutions and greet a future chief?

In the next commotion, external or internal, where the executive is required to call into active exercise all the powers of government, with the example before him of the suspension of habeas corpus and imprisonment of citizens, with and without charges, because they dare to differ in opinion with any of his officials, sustained too, as this has been, by the actual and pretended votes of the American people for twenty-one years. May he improving upon the errors of, and profiting by the experience of Seward and Grant, not make his will the law and so prolong and close the affair as to finally fix himself upon his throne.

The natural tendency of the people is to the simplest form of government, and worn out with civil commotion, internal dissension, or exhausted by foreign war, they may readily resign themselves to the power of one man, whose power is great, promises fair and burdens light. Will the people be lulled to sleep by temporary relief from recent great depression, or will they heed the warning voice of their better judgment and remove this great

danger by divesting the power and removing so powerful a temptation before it is forever too late ?

The hope for relief is not in change of parties, however much frequent changes may assist the well directed efforts of the people, but of government, which must be deprived of that money power by which it now controls the people and their commerce. By limiting its power to tax in amount and purpose, and confining its levies to sums in gross upon the States, and its appropriations to items. All legislation must be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection, including declarations of war. In this there can be no inconvenience since all wars have been discussed for years before their occurrence and no sufficient check upon hasty, ill-considered or interested legislation has yet been discovered, other than the concurrence of the people. Congress should sit but once in ten years, and then as originally intended, as a committee of delegates to consult the general welfare. To be convened in special session by a majority of the States upon a vote of the people, and government be so reformed as to become a local self-government of the people, as simple as their wants, with which it must be commensurate and familiar as their daily walks of life. The wisest and best government can neither control remotely delegated power nor correct its manifold abuse. Productive of unmeasured wealth, it is increased and sustained by its ill-gotten gains and grows and fattens by mere neglect. The delegate, thousands of miles from his constituents and comparatively irresponsible, is beset by every device that can appeal to the senses, every pleasure that wealth and luxury can suggest, his pride, avarice and his ambition are successively appealed to, and with scarcely a single safe-guard to protect him, is it a wonder that he is unable to resist such powerful temptation ?

The Federal government is at Washington and not of nor with the States nor the people, to whom it is a mysterious stranger and alien enemy, occupying its time and the learning, talent and experience of its officials in devising ways, means and expedients by which to extort from the people the largest amount of the product of their labor without actually destroying their industries and forcing them by sheer destitution into open rebellion, and by the corrupt use of this immense revenue its will permeates every-

where, from the State legislature to the town council. To keep the people in ignorance and subjection, it has filled the land with a multitudinous swarm of officials, spies, informers, abandoned and adventurous, moral, social, religious and political prostitutes, who annoy, harass, disturb, and foment, whilst they eat up the substance of the people. But blinded by avarice, enfeebled by luxurious indulgence to effeminacy, and drunk with the power of an absolute and irresponsible military despotism. It has exercised the power of unlimited taxation for the aggrandizement of its creature, parasites and dependents to the almost entire absorption of the surplus product of labor, until impoverished to starvation, the whole people are organizing for revolution; not change of parties nor administration, but of government thorough, efficient and fundamental.

Why this ominous silence? 'Tis the gathering elements of impending storm portending the fate of a great nation, for liberty or imperialism. Government, the apparent source of all power, profit and honor, the object of every low and mean ambition, is corrupting the youth of the country by its ever present and all powerful force of example, until another decade may consign the morality with the liberty of this people, to eternal oblivion. Change is inevitable. It is but a question of time when one man will be absolute master of the lives and fortunes of the American people, unless the change for liberty comes at once. Government cannot be perfected in a decade, nor indeed in a century, but its present evil tendency can be arrested, and a government of the people inaugurated, which will forever remain with them; inseparable, indestructable, and incorruptable. Its inauguration will commence when the people, regardless of party, unite in the firm and fixed determination to vote for no man for office, no matter how insignificant, unless he be identified with them in interest, united to them by all the ties of a common social sympathy solemnly pledged and thoroughly devoted to the following reform. As man's blood conducts that physeological exchange of particles which gives him life, in accordance with natural law, and without his volition, so the first duty of government in its provision for the general welfare is to furnish a healthy national life blood; a stable and uniform currency. The volume of which shall be reg-

ulated alone by the law of demand and supply, making that currency true money, a medium of exchange, always representing substantially as much labor as any commodity for which it will exchange, having an indestructable value, susceptible of neither enhancement nor depreciation by government.

Whilst the precious metals have mainly, in all ages and all countries, constituted the medium of exchange, because as labor products they have ever been most truly representative of actual mental and manual labor, yet they sustain only a proportion of one per cent. to commercial requirement, and other values must be created to supply the demand.

Invoking the wisdom of the whole people, in whose combined judgment I have every confidence, my plan is submitted. In order that the pernicious local, and small credit system, by which the sweat of the poor man's brow is made to till the rich man's soil, may be forever abolished, labor receive its wages daily, and the people develop to the fullest extent all their industrial resources and become locally independent. The coinage of gold and silver should be unlimited. The treasury of each State should be a Federal sub-treasury with convenient additional depositories throughout the State, and sufficient mints for the reduction and coinage of jewels, plate and bullion. Let any citizen who desires the use of money, deposit in one of these depositories coin, jewels, plate or bullion, at their coin value, in the proportion of one to three, and security on unincumbered real estate, at its lowest contingent cash value, in double the amount of the other two and receive in Federal treasury bills, payable in coin and receivable for all dues to government, three dollars for each one of deposit, paying on the two borrowed interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum, limiting the rate on private loans to six per cent. The loan to be retained at the option of the borrower until the unpaid interest shall amount to one-half the value of the security, when the lien shall be foreclosed, as in other cases, so that in no event shall government become the owner or holder of the real estate. Then will the wealth of the country be always disseminated amongst the masses, whose labor produces it, the coin retained in the country, because those bills will, in the nature of things, be at par throughout the entire commercial world. Then accumulation

of wealth will depend upon industry and economy and not as now, upon speculation, combinations of capital or fraud. Then no combination of capitalists can embarrass government, because the precious metals will be almost exclusively deposited in its vaults, nor the people, because they will control the means by which the product of their labor is exchanged. Then will the affectionate devotion of the citizens to their government be unalterable, because directly identified with and attached to it by the ever-present and indissoluble ties of real and permanent self-interest.

Then will monopolies, with which the country is now filled, and by which the markets and railways are controlled and the people robbed, die of their own inherent corruption. Then will money be cheapened to its true value and no longer by unholy worship be made the source and cause of every ill. Then will labor, mental and manual, attain its true dignity and independence and money and labor sustain to each other their natural and equivalent relation the creature and equal, as representative of its creator. Then will there never be unearned and unjustly accumulated wealth in the hands of the few, by which the many can be oppressed. Then will the current life blood of the nation permeate to each hovel in the land, and warm into life the frozen hearts of suffering millions, infusing vigor into labor, furnishing abundant, suitable and profitable employment to all. Then, blessed with prosperity, universal peace and good will, we will no longer hear applied to our land the terrible truth,

“Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.”

Then will our great highways be owned and controlled by the commerce along their lines, for its own increase and development, and not, as now, for the impoverishment of great sections to enrich the few. Then will every resource in all this broad land meet its fullest development ; new roads be built ; new farms be opened ; towns and cities spring up as if by magic, and the busy hum of manufactories, fully adapted to all our wants be heard in every hamlet in our land. Then, indeed, will every county in every State be locally self-sustaining and independent. Then will our National debt, that bane of liberty, which sooner or later reduces the people of every nation to serfdom, be easily and rapidly ex-

tinguished and a contingent fund accumulated sufficient to carry on any ordinary war without materially crippling our industries or increasing taxation.

The gold and silver coin and bullion in the world is estimated at \$11,000,000,000. The circulation of France is \$10 per capita. We would require more, but taking that as a basis we would increase gradually as the increased production of our people increased the demand it is safe to say that in five years after the inauguration of this system the government vaults would contain \$1,000,000,000 and receive interest for the ensuing twenty years on \$2,000,000,000. Under the entire plan suggested expenses would be reduced. Yet, according to the treasurer's last report, we may leave the government \$300,000,000 yearly, and appropriate, \$60,000,000 yearly to the contingent fund, which in twenty years will give \$2,400,000,000 with which to carry on a three years war allowing twenty years as the average occurrence. The above figures are only a fair approximate by way of illustration, but they are sufficient to show, according to present army estimates for each soldier, that the fund would support an army of 1,000,000 of men for three years without increasing taxation or contracting indebtedness. Thus taxation would be limited, fixed and uniform, and no material enhancement or depreciation of values could occur in peace or war, except those incident to production and consumption, and this would not be great, because in a self-sustaining country when war crippled one industry it would correspondingly stimulate another, and we find the "Eureka" of political economy, a self-sustaining, cash paying people and government. In a country possessing all the elements of prosperity the people are prosperous, independent and happy. Just in proportion to the facility with which they can exchange the product of their labor, to this end money should be as abundant and cheap as the labor which produces it. This the system suggested procures, whilst at the same time, it prevents any considerable fluctuation in and establishes the most perfect and invariable standard of values. It makes the people masters of their own time, labor and money, the three essential safe guards of self-government, for that government is absolute in power which controls the money of its people no matter by what name its form may be distinguished.

Independent local self-government of the people established how best it can be preserved? By placing officers beyond the reach of temptation and making them directly responsible to their constituents. Each State should be divided into an odd number of counties, each county in like manner into districts, the districts into precincts not to contain more than two hundred and fifty voters, each and all as near that number as possible, each voter casting three votes viva voce, thus preventing loss of time from business by attendance at the polls, making fraudulent returns impossible, by the certainty and facility with which each voter may learn the true condition of the polls, securing confidence, reducing excitement to its minimum and procuring a minority representation for protection against the recklessness, extravagance, imprudence, improvidence and oppression of majorities. In precinct elections majority should control in the district a majority of precincts, each precinct casting one vote, in the county a majority of districts, in the State a majority of counties, in Federal elections a majority of States, each like the precinct casting one vote. Government should commence in the precinct, which should govern itself in all things pertaining to its own welfare, vote and collect its own levies, and so with the district, county and State; each exercising the least amount of government consistent with the general welfare. The power of direct taxation should exist only in the precinct, and that of enforcement in the district and county. When the people ratify the legislative estimate, the State will issue her requisition to the county for a sum in gross, the county to the district and the district to the precinct, each having been apportioned in the estimate according to wealth, population and benefit, thus all the people may know what is collected and how appropriated, bringing government home to the people, simplifying and familiarizing the people with it, to whom it is now a strange mystery, who can read and become familiar with the multitudinous and voluminous yearly reports of government officials, unless he be a man of learning and wealth, and devote his whole time to that purpose. How often do the oldest members of congress call for important reports with which they unhesitatingly announce themselves unfamiliar, and then what grave and learned discussion as to what they mean and what they do not. Can that be called a government of

the people or for their benefit, of which they know nothing, except as a master and tax-gatherer, and whose main object they see and feel to be the extortion from them of the greatest possible amount of money for the aggrandizement of the officials who compose it and the monopolies, cliques and rings by which they are kept in office ?

In the State government all officers should be elected by the people composing their respective constituencies, their salaries fixed by them and the office without other emolument. Where any person to bear his proper portion of the public burden, should pay a fee for service, it should be paid into the proper treasury. Each member of the State and Federal legislature should have his salary fixed and paid by his constituency. Each district should elect two, so that any considerable minority would always be protected by representation. For instance, a district contained 30,000 voters 20,000 of whom belonged to one party and 10,000 to another, then the poll would stand 60,000 to 30,000 and each would elect a representative, and the majority could not divide their vote so as to elect both. Majorities of more than two-thirds are too large, and minorities of less than one-third are too small to make oppression either probable or profitable. Members of congress should be impeachable by their constituency and triable before a court of pardons and impeachments, sitting in their own state as a part of its government. Then there will be no more miscellaneous appropriation bills, squandering millions of the people's hard earned money in profligate extravagance and electioneering schemes.

All legislative estimates and Federal estimates made during vacation should be submitted to the people, as a single issue, for twelve months before the election to ratify or reject, so they may be examined carefully, and discussed leisurely, without excitement or loss of time, and then we may abolish the odious internal revenue system, with its immense standing army of officials and dependents, costing about \$120,000,000, and collecting about \$160,000,000, and save \$120,000,000 yearly, collecting the \$40,000,000 by the estimate and requisition system, without additional expense save the trifle of transportation. Values would become comparatively fixed, so slight would be their variation, in peace or war, that all business could be safe and profitably conducted.

The President should be elected by the States, each casting one vote, the people voting directly as in other elections, the Vice President by the senate. The President should appoint, by the advice and consent of the senate, all foreign representatives, and no other officers. All Federal commissions should be in the name and by authority of the people of the United States and attested by the secretary of the department to which the office belongs. The cabinet and heads of bureaux should be elected by the whole people, no two of whom should be from the same State. To secure efficiency they should hold during good behavior, impeachable by congress, who should fix their salaries. Postmasters should be elected by the people, their offices regulated by a general law, under the supervision of the Postmaster-General. Officers of the navy, above the rank of first lieutenant, should be elected by congress from the navy or naval schools; below that appointed by the officer commanding the vessel or squadron; officers of the army above the rank of colonel should be elected by congress from the army; all others should be appointed by the general, upon the recommendation of brigade, division and corps commanders, except volunteers, whose officers should be elected by companies, regiments, brigades, divisions and corps and commissioned by the Governor of the State from which they volunteered, commanding thereby the most essential of all things in war, the confidence of the soldiery.

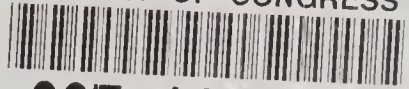
Each State should be represented by one judge on the Federal supreme bench, elected by the legislature of his own State, his salary fixed by congress, impeachable by the legislature of his own State. This court should sit as a court of errors, appeals, impeachments and pardons. It is dangerous to give political bodies jurisdiction of impeachments; their divided and shifting responsibility, more inclines to license crime than correct abuse of power by a favorite and the frailty of human nature warns us to remove from the executive the dangerous temptation to veto and pardon. There must be no veto but that exercised by the people. The judges of the supreme court should be triable upon impeachment by a court composed of the chief justices of all the States, a majority of whom would constitute a quorum, with the right of appeal upon law not fact to the supreme court of the United States. Upon the con-

struction or interpretation of constitutional law, an appeal should lie from the supreme court; State and Federal directly to the people. Then every line and letter of our constitution will become familiar to and receive a certain fixed and well defined meaning by the people. Then the people will be sovereign in fact. Then organic law will mean something. Then change will be contemplated with holy horror, until demonstrated by well established experimental facts, as absolutely necessary or highly beneficial. Then government will have stability and the people become firmly attached to its institutions, as wisdom, purity and virtue aid both to mould for each other the most excellent and perfect character of which man and his institutions are susceptible. Then will the facility for frequent changes at great expense, requiring multiplicity of legislation to carry them into effect, embarrassing the people and endangering their liberties by the uncertainty and obscurity of the law be effectually abolished.

Without organization resistance to a usurper would be hopeless. Patrick Henry said "your militia would turn against you" and such is human nature and the present condition of affairs that when called out, goaded by fear upon the one hand and induced by the certainty of reward upon the other, I believe they would. Congress has but to pass an act making it a misdemeanor to write or speak of a Federal officer in such a manner as would be calculated to impede or embarrass him in the discharge of his duties to complete the subjugation of the people. It is punishable as for contempt for the press to publish "anything calculated to impede or embarrass the administration of justice" and the court interested construes the language, determines its effect, tries the offender without a jury and inflicts the punishment. Let the people demand everywhere that government be divested of that money power by which they are now so unjustly and so unnaturally oppressed and that it remain with the commerce of the people where it justly and naturally belongs and they will be heard and felt as the tremulous rumbling thunders of the earthquake. Make this the key-note of every campaign and soon the heavy hand of oppression, which now o'er shadows the land with its gloom, will disappear as the mist before the morning sun.



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